

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 6631

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 27 COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS ON CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: STATE 260811

SUMMARY: IN NAC NOVEMBER 27, PERMREPS AGREED TO NOTE FINAL VERSION OF SPC TEXT (SEPTTEL) ON CSCE/MBFR "REVERSE LINKAGE". SYG LUNS WILL NOT INCLUDE STUDY ON MINISTERIAL AGENDA, BUT WILL REFER TO IT IN HIS REMARKS OPENING MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION OF DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS OPENED DISCUSSION ON CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE AT NOV 27 NAC NOTING THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO INSERT THE SPC PAPER ON "REVERSE LINKAGE" INTO THE MINISTERIAL AGENDA. LUNS SAID, HOWEVER, HE WOULD REFER TO "EXCELLENT" SPC PAPER IN HIS REMARKS OPENING MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION ON EAST-WEST DETENTE.

2. ITALIAN PERMREP (CATALANO) SAID THE SPC PAPER REPRESENTED A GOOD ANALYSIS OF "REVERSE LINKAGE" AND ADDED THAT ITALY AGREED WITH ITS CONCLUSIONS. CATALANO THOUGHT ALLIES SHOULD RETAIN OPTION OF REFERENCE TO LINKAGE IN THE DECEMBER COMMUNIQUE.

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3. DUTCH PERMREP (HARTOGH) JOINED OTHERS IN PRAISING THE SPC EFFORT ADDING THAT IT PRESENTED A CLEAR VIEW OF THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF LINKAGE. HE ADDED THAT THE NETHERLANDS AGREED WITH THE SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS IN PARAGRAPH 8. HARTOGH

WANTED ALLIES TO KEEP CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN LINKAGE OPTIONS AND STAGE III CSCE SUMMIT. FOR EXAMPLE, REFERENCES TO A SUMMIT-LEVEL STAGE III IN OPTION D SEEM TO INDICATE THAT SUCH CONCLUSION TO CSCE IS POSSIBLE. DUTCH MAINTAIN THEIR VIEW THAT A SUMMIT-LEVEL STAGE III IS NOT JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF CURRENT CSCE RESULTS.

4. GREEK PERMREP (THEODOROPOULOS) PRAISED THE SPC PAPER BUT ADDED A CAUTIONARY NOTE THAT POSSIBLE FAVORABLE REFERENCES TO A SUMMIT-LEVEL STAGE III IN THE VLADIVOSTOK AND OTHER EAST-WEST COMMUNIQUE MIGHT MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH ANY REALISTIC KIND OF LINKAGE SHOULD THE ALLIANCE DECIDE TO DO SO. HE ALSO RAISED AGAIN THE QUESTION OF WHY AT RECENT EAST-WEST SUMMITS THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE A MAJOR POINT OF THEIR CSCE POSITION, WHILE WESTERN REPS HAVE NOT PURSUED THEIR MBFR GOALS.

5. CANADIAN CHARGE (ROY) SAID OTTAWA BELIEVED THE ALLIANCE'S DISCUSSION OF LINKAGE WAS OPPORTUNE AND THANKED THE UNITED STATES FOR SUGGESTING THE SPC REVIEW. HE THOUGHT THE ALLIES SHOULD KEEP THE POSSIBILITY OF LINKAGE IN MIND.

6. US CHARGE (MCAULIFFE) REMINDED ALLIES OF UTILITY OF STUDYING PARTICULAR DEVELOPMENTS OR PROPOSALS EVEN IF A SPECIFIC PLAN OF ACTION DOES NOT EMERGE. HE NOTED THAT THIS HAD PROVED TRUE IN THE CASE OF THE SPC REVIEW OF DETENTE AND IN THE PRESENT STUDY OF CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE. MCAULIFFE REMINDED THE ALLIES THAT THE US HAD PROPOSED THE LINKAGE STUDY TO SEE IF LINKAGE PROPOSED BY THE SOVIETS COULD SOMEHOW BE TURNED TO THE WEST'S ADVANTAGE. HE REMINDED THAT THE US DID NOT NECESSARILY FAVOR ANY SUCH LINKAGE BUT HAD ONLY SUGGESTED THAT STUDY BE MADE. MCAULIFFE SAID SPC PAPER PROVIDED A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE LINKAGE QUESTION AND SUGGESTED THAT PAPER BE NOTED BY COUNCIL. HE ALSO AGREED WITH LUNS' SUGGESTION TO REFER TO THE LINKAGE STUDY IN HIS REMARKS OPENING THE MINISTERS' REVIEW OF DETENTE.

7. TURKISH PERMREP (ERALP) SAID THE SPC PAPER PROVIDED CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF LINKAGE PROS AND CONS WHICH ON CAREFUL READING CLEARLY SHOWS THAT DISADVANTAGES OUTWEIGH ADVANTAGES. ERALP SAID ANKARA AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH A LINK THROUGH CSCE THAT WOULD GUARANTEE SOVIET MBFR CONCESSIONS SINCE, IN TURKISH VIEW, LATTER HAD NOT YET RESULTED EVEN FROM ORIGINAL LINKAGE ESTABLISHED IN 1972. TO ESTABLISH LINKAGE AGAIN AT THIS TIME WOULD PROBABLY SERVE TO SLOW PROGRESS ON CSCE WHICH TURKEY HOPED WOULD COME TO A RAPID CONCLUSION.

8. UK PERMREP (PECK) SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AGREED WITH THE CONCLUSIONS IN THE PAPER, AND REFERRING TO US CHARGE'S EARLIER REMARK (BASED ON STATE 260811), SUGGESTED TAT SPC NOW TURN ITS EFFORTS TO DISCUSSING TERMINAL DATE FOR CSCE

AND PRE-CONDITIONS THEREFOR.MCAULIFFE

NOTE BY OCT: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O, MR. TWOHIE.

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